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Broadsheet of the Internationalists

# To End War We Have to End the System that Causes War

he US-led coalition has launched an open-ended war, the so-called "war on terrorism". Vice-president Dick Cheney has declared it may well not end in his lifetime. It was clear from the beginning that the aim of the war was to extend US domination over the planet both strategically and economically.

The Threat to Iraq

Dominant imperialisms have to snuff

out challenges from their rivals or would-be rivals. This is why Iraq is now in the frame.

The pacifists are going around telling us that Iraq must not be bombed. To which we can only ask which planet are they living on? The war operations against Iraq in the no fly zone and beyond have never stopped. From 1991 to today there have been more than ten thousand such operations.

This is because:

- 1) The US needs to keep the embargo to exclude European states from Iraqi oil supplies.
- 2) The current US recession

makes it even more necessary to control oil and its price which not only has to be kept at its present level but will eventually have to go up.

- Bush was elected with the political support of the arms producers. In a situation of looming crisis such as this the huge increase in military spending must have a political justification if he is to get Congress to accept it.
  - 4) They are a signal to the entire world that the new US administration intends to continue and intensify the use of force against everyone, enemies and allies alike.
  - 5) The US rejects European and Japanese calls for and end to the trade embargo with Iraq. The air strikes are used by the US as 'proof' of Saddam's offensive capabilities and the need to continue the embargo.

Apart from their British puppets, the rest of the world, from Russia to France, from Italy to Turkey, (states which routinely lend their air bases for American air raids), have criticised the continued bombings. For their pains they have been accused of being soft in the "war on terrorism".

September 11th is not only the grand alibi for US militarism but it has given a green light to Israel, the closest ally of the US in the Middle East. Sharon, the butcher of Sabra and Chatilla can now add Jenin to the list of his glorious atrocities against the Palestinians. The capitalist barbarians — whether followers of the millionaire Bin Laden or the millionaire Bush — maim and kill workers in their thousands in the interest of shaping and reshaping the imperialist world.

In this sense the current "war against terrorism" is nothing new. Since 1914 the imperialists have launched war after war, some global, some regional, to maintain their system of profits based on the misery of the many for the benefit of the few. War, in short, is endemic to capitalism. Yet it is not utopian to think that in the 21st century human beings could coexist without the horror of modern warfare. It is absolutely utopian, however, to believe that this can be achieved within capitalism. There is a force with the real potential to put an end to capitalism and warfare for ever: the international working class whose labour power is universally exploited by capital and who have no interest in killing and maiming each other for the sake of nationalist. religious, 'anti-terrorist', 'anti-fascist',

or any other divide-and-rule dogma.

#### No War But Class War

That is why it is important that socialists, not only "disdain to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of the existing social conditions." [Marx] The idea that socialists should hide their views in order to build a populist, 'non-political' coalition is not only hypocrisy but also futile.

Demonstrations, vigils, prayers and letters to Blair won't stop war. The so-called socialists (SWP, Socialist Alliance, and their little helpers) who have sunk their differences and avoid any mention of 'socialism' so as to organise an Anti-War coalition with Christians, Greens, Muslims, pacifists and so on, are an obstacle to the development of a working class political movement. For genuine socialists there is no separation between the struggle for socialism and the struggle against capitalist war. Only fear that the working class can threaten their property and profits can halt the capitalists' war drive. The more conscious workers are of this and the better they are organised politically on their own account, the harder will it be for capitalism to enlist workers in their gruesome killing projects.

We want to build a real opposition — not against one ruling class clique but against their whole rotten system which offers the world's workers only death, destruction and misery whether slowly by poverty, disease and disaster or at the faster tempo of terrorism and war. Only the class struggle by workers of all countries against all rulers and would-be rulers offers an alternative to the slide into barbarism.

This is why we have supported and continue to support No War But Class War. Our message is clear:

Workers Have No Country! National Liberation Is No Liberation for the Working Class!

Organise For Your Own Struggle!

**Socialism Or Barbarism!** 

For contact addresses see over the page

### Palestine/Israel

## Liberation Won't Come from Two Separate States

eportations, destruction, massacres of innocent and defenceless citizens: the bloody cycle which recommenced more than a year ago with the Nazistyle provocation of Sharon has tragically accelerated. Yet Israeli mini-imperialism has always had a free hand. Thanks to the US veto in the UN Israel has been allowed the luxury of invading territory which no international law could possibly permit and of rampantly inflicting cruelty on the Palestinian population by means of repression and ethnic cleansing. All this was —and is part of the logic of American imperialism. In fact Israel remains the precious bridge-head for US interests in the Middle East. Despite any passing and superficial role is even more indispensable today, when the conflicting interests of imperialism are sharpening under the pressure of capitalism's world economic crisis. But for now all the Arab, Russian, and above all, the bourgeoisie of the European Union can do against the arrogance of the United States and its Israeli policemen is appeal for peace, calls which are as hypocritical as they are impotent.

Beyond the daily victims of military aggression, the situation in both the occupied territories and in that controlled by the PLO is becoming disastrous: unemployment, underemployment, under-employment, under-payment, bestial working conditions, massive emigration, are the norm. Employed and unemployed live in shanty towns and refugee camps without services

or drinking water. Where they exist, the drains are open to the sky and illness is the order of the day.

In such circumstances the enrolment of the proletariat and sub-proletariat to the nationalist cause is almost automatic and, given the absence of a working class political alternative, the illusion of fighting for a better life under an indigenous bourgeoisie is inevitable. For the same reason, it's inevitable that a good part of the Israeli proletariat which is threatened — if in a less dramatic way — with layoffs, cuts in wages and the 'social state', turns a blind eye to the bellicose and racist nationalism of their own bourgeoisie.

But the hypothetical Palestinian state, whether in the PLO version or that of Hamas, would only strengthen the bourgeoisie in question while the Palestinian proletariat would still be subject to unemployment and obliged to emigrate either to Israel or elsewhere in order to counter the same super-exploitation and miserable wages as before. Today no state can escape from the 'globalisation' of markets, and it certainly will not be for the Palestinian bourgeoisie to reverse the course of capitalism.

Thus, the strikingly urgent problem is how to extract the Palestinian proletariat — and also the Israeli working class — from the humiliation and ferocious repression of the Israeli state on the one hand, and on the

This protest poster was issued by Globalise Resistance against the Kissinger presence at the Institute of Directors convention in London in April 2002. Whilst Kissinger is undoubtedly a war criminal in every sense the message is not anti-capitalist but only against some individual capitalists and firms. We reject the idea that capitalism can be made fairer or ethical or whatever you want it to be. The only real anti-capitalism is the working class struggle for a a moneyless, classless, stateless society without war or famine. Communismis not dead , it

other, from the nationalistic/religious calls of their own bourgeoisie. This is not with a view to an immediate and improbable revolutionary solution — too many elements are missing for this, from the party to a minimum level of class consciousness - but so that the yearning for liberation which exists in Palestine, the suffering, the outrage at the abuse of power and the blood that is being spilt daily is not exhausted in one of the most tragic episodes of nationalism, without even sowing a seed of revival for the revolutionary class struggle.

remains to be born.

April 2002

# Down with Le Pen! Down with Capitalist Democracy!

e Pen's achievement of 17% of the votes cast (i.e. 12% of French citizens) underlines so many things about modern capitalism that it is not easy to summarise them in a short space. In the first place the failure of the ruling Socialist Party to carry out its promised programme on housing and working conditions explains why even its own members didn't turn out to vote for Lionel Jospin in the first round. In the second place there has been a massive rejection of the ruling parties of the Fifth Republic which have done little to halt the attacks on living standards for the last twenty years. Whilst Le Figaro says it is the end of the Left it fails to mention that 5 Left wing candidates (three openly Trotskyist) won enough votes to double Jospin's vote. What we have seen is nothing less than a polarisation of the French electorate because the economic system is failing

ow the second round is a choice between "plague and cholera" (as the French Trotskyist organisation Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle) tell us. What they don't tell us is that their electoral games have helped to create this situation. And it is a result which will not make them too unhappy. Now they can do what they have always done best and campaign against the fascist candidate FOR DEMOCRACY. Predictably there has been much wringing of hands and cries for the defence of democracy since the first round. This is precisely what the ruling class everywhere needed - an issue to bring back increasingly cynical workers to the polls. And this is not just in France. No sooner was the French election result known than Blair was winging his way North to Blackburn to campaign against the British National Party (who are putting up 13 candidates in the council elections in nearby Burnley). He called on voters to vote only for mainstream parties, including the Tories, to stop the BNP. He did not say "gosh sorry chaps, if my Home Secretary Blunkett had not banged on about schools "swamped" with asylum seekers or had created an anti-immigrant hysteria to go alongside the post-September 11th "war against terrorism" then perhaps the BNP's support would not be growing and the parliamentary parties could truthfully say they were against racism ." The reality is that whoever is in government must find away from stopping workers questioning the existing set up. As the capitalist crisis

creates more social problems the capitalist political system turns nastier. Those who take part in it, and pretend it can be made fairer, give it legitimacy they do not build support to overthrow it.

hilst the bourgeois

been full of shock

press in France has

horror at the success of Le Pen they are actually delighted that they will be able to find an issue to get the "voters" or "citizens" to the polls. They can now vote for Chirac, a crook who stood for re-election to prevent investigation of his corrupt business deals or a bigot and a racist like Le Pen. In some ways this is similar to Germany in July 1932 when the Presidential choice was between Hindenburg, a reactionary monarchist who had already served seven years as President of a Republic he despised and an Austrian ex-corporal called Adolf Hitler. Hitler got 13 million to Hindenburg's 17 million and seven months later was appointed Chancellor of Germany by Hindenburg (on the recommendation of his sor Oskar, who the Nazis has discovered had been using Government funds to pay his father's mortgage). However Hitler did not come to power through the ballot box. The one significant statistic the books usually leave out is that the socialists and communists increased their votes in November 1932. Hitler was invited to take the Chancellorship by the Army, industrialists and the political establishment because they wanted to stop the Communists. No fascist movement has ever achieved power without the support of the existing "defenders of democracy"

oday though that is a message our anti-fascists are all but deaf to. Our social democratic left of all stripes will be screaming for an anti-Le Pen vote. Perhaps the SWP will come up with one of their famous slogans of support for the system (perhaps "Vote Tory for the Last Time" or "Vote Tory with no Illusions"?). One thing is certain the left have done more to support capitalist democracy than any of its current parliamentary leaders.

ur message remains the same. Don't dignify this bourgeois charade with our participation. The way to fight racism is by unifying the working class of all races around a programme which represents our real common interests.

### IBRP May Day S a emen

### For The Working Class For Our Own In erna ional Par y

or too long May Day has been a ritual with no meaning for the working class. The occasion has been used for decades to mobilise workers in support of reformist parties whose policies are anti-working class. Despite all the election promises, their reforms in reality have led to 30 million job losses throughout the OECD, real wage cuts (i.e. loss of purchasing power) and continued loss of job security.

Despite all this, working class internationalists have always attended the May Day rallies. Whenever workers take to the streets we have to be there, even though the ideology behind the demonstrations is directly against workers' interests.

So, we are out with our publicity knowing that this time is no different: most workers are influenced by some sort of more or less radical reformism. Even the existence of the working class is denied. Instead we are all supposed to be 'citizens'. Any sense of working class internationalism is being channelled towards impotent pacifism, and the struggle against the bourgeois state is turned into a defence of false democracy.

However this May Day also falls at a significant time.

First of all, signs that the capitalist crisis is getting worse are multiplying. Profit rates are falling markedly and financial/speculative capital prevails more and more over the industrial sector. This crisis is now so great that it is pushing the bourgeoisie of all countries to violently attack the entire working class. 'Old' forms of wage slavery are on the increase, as are job losses - hence the increasingly desperate migrations of those who otherwise would go hungry — whilst low wages and insecure jobs are the norm even in the 'strong' economies. It is a crisis which is propelling the principal imperialist countries into wars for the control of markets and raw materials, especially oil, which is not only a fundamental source of energy but the means for parasitically acquiring revenue in dollars

and potentially in euros. This again is forcing countries which are not so strong financially to stay in the fray, so that they can join in the haggling over who gets what from the diminishing surplus value extorted from the working class. A crisis moreover, which, with the help of the finance capitalists, has put the whole of the 'southern world' in real danger of general impoverishment and has reduced Argentina to total bankruptcy.

However this year there is another novelty: the reappearance of real working class struggle independent of all the capitalist parties, including the reformists. At the forefront is the great struggle of the Argentine piqueteros movement. But in the 'North' too, amid the usual petty bourgeois democrats and traditional trade unionists, young workers have appeared within the radical-reformist/ anti-globalisation movement. They have clear anti-capitalist demands and a more radical hatred of the bourgeois state, as we saw last July in Genoa during the demonstrations against the G8 Summit.

These new outbursts, however embryonic their anti-capitalism really is, make it even more necessary to rebuild a communist party on a global scale.

We call on all conscious revolutionaries and organisations to assume their responsibilities by combating the organisations and parties which are spreading democratic illusions and supporting an impotent activist movement. The groups and organisations inside that movement have conflicting aims and different programmes but they share the general idea of 'the possibility of a new world'. This disguises the fact that they are opposed to the communist programme for social ownership of the means of production, i.e. the abolition of capitalism (money, wage labour, commodities). It also disguises the fact that they are not in favour of the overthrow of the bourgeois state, the power and begin the transition

The Communist Workers' Organisation is the British affiliate of the IBRP. It publishes *Internationalist Communist*, central theoretical organ of the Bureau and *Revolutionary Perspectives*, a quarterly magazine as well as *Aurora*, an agitational broadsheet.

For more details see our website www.ibrp.org.

For e mail write to cwo@ibrp.org

or to our address

P.O.Box 338 Sheffield S3 9YX towards a truly human society. Their 'new world' is a dangerous illusion — denied by daily reality — that capitalism can be democratised.

It is therefore crucial that a functioning revolutionary political organisation (the international party of the proletariat) comes into being: to circulate the communist programme, to struggle against compromise with capitalist domination, and to lead a revolutionary fight back.

Such an international party will have to lay down the methodological basis, the theory and the policies of the revolutionary programme. In so doing the whole counterrevolutionary experience of Stalinism and the social democratic practice of the Third International will be discarded.

The internationalists who are slowly but surely gathering

around the International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party have already started this process. We call on working class militants and their organisations to join us in this difficult task. Otherwise capitalist barbarism — with the objective, if unwitting, support of the more or less radical reformists — will continue to triumph.

The International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party

1st May 2002

Partito Comunista Internazionalista (Battaglia Comunista) – Italy

> Communist Workers' Organisation – GB

Notes Internationalistes/ Internationalist Notes (Canada and USA)

Bilan&Perspectives (France)

Circolo Comunista Internazionalista di Colombia

> Radical Communists of Ukraine

### No War But the Class War

A group of socialists in Sheffield, from different traditions, have set up a group — No War but the Class War — to provide a focus for all those interested in developing workers' resistance to the war.

Workers share no common interests with any part of the imperialist ruling class. That class, which can only offer death and ruin, encompasses all the bourgeois factions from Bush to Bin Laden, and all the existing and would-be states from the USA to the PLO. NWBCW is implacably opposed to the idea that capitalism "at peace" is preferable to capitalism "at war" — one is merely a hidden form of the other.

For contact e mail: SheffieldNWBCW@aol.com or write c/o CWO address

### **CWO Basic Positions**

- 1. We aim to become part of the future world working class party which will guide the class struggle towards the establishment of a stateless, classless, moneyless society without exploitation, national frontiers or standing armies and in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all (Marx): Communism.
- 2. Such a society will need a revolutionary state for its introduction. This state will be run by workers' councils, consisting of instantly recallable delegates from every section of the working class. Their rule is called the dictatorship of the proletariat because it cannot exist without the forcible overthrow and keeping down of the capitalist class worldwide.
- 3. The first stage in this is the political organisation of class-conscious workers and their eventual union into an international political party for the promotion of world revolution.
- 4. The Russian October Revolution of 1917 remains a brilliant inspiration for us. It showed that workers could overthrow the capitalist class. Only the isolation and decimation of the Russian working class destroyed their revolutionary vision of 1917. What was set up in Russia in the 1920's and after was not communism but centrally planned state capitalism. There have as yet been no communist societies anywhere in the world.
- 5. The International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party was founded by the heirs of the Italian Left who tried to fight the political degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the Comintern in the 1920's. We are continuing the task which the Russian Revolution promised but failed to achieve the freeing of the workers of the world and the establishment of communism. Join us!